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ABSTRACT

The Humboldt County Grand Jury (1973-74) examined the attitudes of high school youths toward law enforcement in the California county. Since these are sensitive indicators of their attitudes toward authority in general, results should not be interpreted as being exclusively relevant to law enforcement. The study covered a 4 month period, sampling 671 advanced level high school students from 5 schools. The first phase surveyed student attitudes toward law enforcement officers; the second investigated the relation of student adjustment patterns to these attitudes. To identify sources of rating variations, students were divided into subgroups by sex, school attended, parents' income level, and racial group (American Indian and Anglo). Ratings of law officers are also influenced by the broader, perhaps more stable, personal and social attitudes (alienation and authoritarianism). There was a significant relationship between the respondent's degree of alienation and evaluations given law officers. Success within the school society depends primarily upon acculturation, which by and large means conformity to an implicit model of social behavior and personal conduct and compliance to the will of the teachers. Those students who are the most "culturally different" from the white middle class model, in this case Native Americans, suffer most and achieve least. The report emphasized that differences in achievement levels are not caused by differences in ability to learn, but rather are the consequence of the interaction of the students' cultural backgrounds with the school system. (KM)

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A STUDY OF YOUTH ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY AND THEIR RELATION TO SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT PATTERNS

A report prepared by the 1973-74
Humboldt County Grand Jury

June 1974

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

The Humboldt County Grand Jury (1973-74) contracted Educational Research Associates (ERA) to conduct a study of the attitudes of high school youth toward law enforcement in the County. In recent years there has been an appreciable increase in juvenile crime, not only locally, but nationwide as well; and it is common knowledge that there is considerable tension in the relations of youth with all forms of social authority. The law enforcement officer has a critical and difficult position in his relations with youth. On one hand he is charged with the responsibility of maintaining lawfullness in the community, and on the other he must be sensitive and responsive to the special circumstances of the youthful offender. To most youth, the law officer symbolizes adult authority, and the intelligence and integrity of his actions can help form the base of trust and respect toward society in general. If he acts inappropriately, however, there is apt to be a dissipation of trust.

The attitudes of youth toward law officers are sensitive indicators of their attitudes toward authority in general so the results of the study reported herein, while particularly directed to law enforcement, should not be interpreted as being exclusively relevant to that area. Further, it should be noted that the responses of the students do not constitute an objective evaluation of law enforcement in Humboldt County, but rather are expressions of their personal feelings. It was the intention of the Grand Jury that the status of youth attitudes toward law enforcement officers be determined, and that clarification of the factors influential in the formation of these attitudes be made. The members of the Grand Jury recommended that the results of the study be carefully reviewed by all community agencies who contact youth, and that wherever possible the information reported be utilized constructively to improve relations between youth and the adult community.

The study conducted by ERA took place over a four month period, and two additional months were required for data processing and report preparation. The study sample consisted of 671 advanced level high school students from five schools. The students were selected to be a representative cross section of high school youth, and the five schools were located in all regions of the County from those closest to the

population center to those most remote. A pilot study of the principal instruments used in the study was conducted at a sixth high school, but the responses of these students have not been included in the report since extensive modification of the instruments were made.

The study consisted of two phases. The first phase was a general survey of student attitudes toward law enforcement officers, and the second was an intensive investigation of the relation of student adjustment patterns to their attitudes toward law officers. The report is organized into sections corresponding to the two phases of the study.

PART I SURVEY OF STUDENT ATTITUDES

The following sequence of activities was conducted for the attitude survey:

(1) The development of an instrument to elicit accurate measurement of attitudes toward law enforcement officers and to other, more general, social issues;

(2) administration of the instrument to a representative sample of advanced standing high school youth;

(3) factor analysis of intercorrelations among individual items to identify the primary attitude dimensions, and the development of dimension scores for each respondent;

(4) analysis of group differences in the attitudes assessed by each dimension, and;

(5) determination of the relationship between attitudes toward law officers and personal-social attitudes.

DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Since no adequate, standardized instrument for attitude measurement was available, the investigators constructed one for the study. A large number of items were written to elicit student reaction to four general areas of concern: (1) "how do you think law enforcement officers in this county would treat (relate to) persons like yourself?"; (2) "with what degree of skill do officers discharge their responsibilities to the communities (areas) they serve?"; (3) are officers impartial (unbiased) in their relations with people of different types?"; and (4) "what are your personal opinions on controversial social issues, and what are your feelings about your present life situation?". The first three categories obviously relate to law enforcement attitudes, and the fourth area to personal-social attitudes.

A preliminary version of the questionnaire was reviewed by the Grand Jury, then field tested with 219 students. Statistical analysis of the complete questionnaires identified (1) items which produced no variation in student responses, (2) ambiguous items whose meaning was unclear, and (3) items whose content was not clearly related to the major themes of the attitude survey. Inadequate items were rewritten or discarded, and the instructions to the respondents were clarified. A revised questionnaire was produced, approved by the Grand Jury,

then administered to students in the five schools. The final version of the questionnaire is available from ERA upon request.

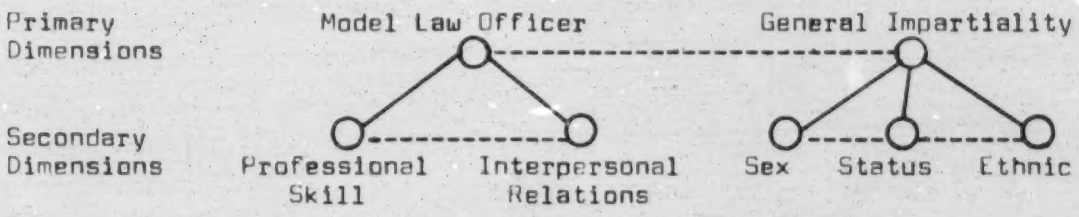
STRUCTURE OF STUDENT ATTITUDES

The investigators utilized a procedure called factor analysis to reduce responses to individual items to a small number of primary, independent dimensions for which each respondent had a score. Each of the identified dimensions consists of a set of highly intercorrelated items to which students responded in a like manner. By intercorrelated it is meant that individual respondents throughout the study sample tended to check each item of a set in the same scale position relative to the average response of all respondents. A dimension score for each respondent (hereafter called a "scale score") was derived by summing the numerical values assigned to each item of a set. There are several practical advantages to this procedure. The reduction of responses to a small number of independent categories is a statistically efficient procedure which increases the reliability of measurement without loosing significant information. The smaller number of scores (on identified dimensions) facilitates the derivation of meaning and the drawing of conclusions.

Factor analysis of the items concerning law officer ratings generated two independent primary dimensions which were named Model Law Officer Characteristics and General Impartiality. The first dimension was found to have two secondary dimensions, Professional Skill and Competency and Interpersonal Relations. The second dimension has three subdimensions which reflect freedom of officer bias toward females vs males (Sex), high community status persons vs low status persons (Status), and ethnic majority vs ethnic minority (Ethnocentrism). The diagram in Figure A below may help the reader to visualize the rating dimensions.

In the figure, the solid lines indicate relatively strong correlations of dimensions to each other while the dotted lines depict relative independence. For example, students who gave officers high ratings on the items identified with Professional Skill and Competency also tended to give high ratings on Model Law Officer items; but ratings on General Impartiality items are not consistent (correlated) with ratings on Model Law Officer items.

Figure A. Structure of Ratings of Law Officers



Model Law Officer The items correlated with the Model Officer dimension appear in Table 1. For each item, the average rating given law officers by the respondents is represented by a down-turned arrow (↓). Variability of ratings is displayed by the bracketed (↓ ↓ ↓) portion of the scale which indicates the average plus and minus one standard deviation. Approximately 68% of the respondents gave ratings within this range while the remaining 32% gave higher and lower ratings. The factor loadings, printed to the left of the items indicate the correlation of the items to the dimension.

TABLE 1

STUDENT RATINGS - MODEL LAW OFFICER DIMENSION

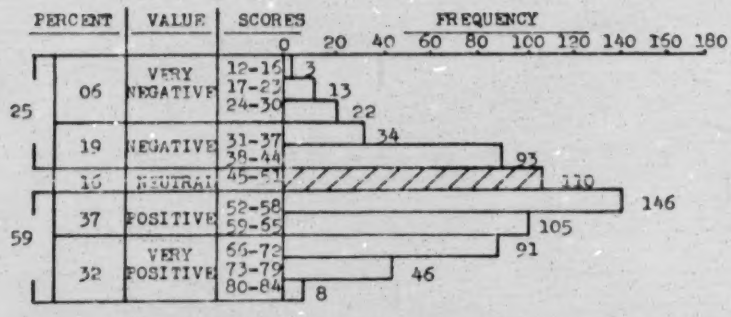
.78	Respect the rights of others.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Ignore the rights of people.
.77	Use their power to help people.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Use their power against people.
.73	Do not misuse their authority.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Abuse their authority.
.73	Help make the community a better place to live.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Reduce the quality of life in the community.
.72	Willing to admit mistakes.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Feel they are right no matter what.
.72	Understand people.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Misjudge people.
.70	Help people lead a better life.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Prevent people from leading a good life.
.68	Interested in preventing crime.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Interested in chasing suspects.
.65	Use force or violence only when essential.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Are unnecessarily forceful and violent.
.65	Like the people they serve.	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Dislike the people they serve.
.64	Honest	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Dishonest.
.61	Tolerant	+++ ++ + o - -- ---	Intolerant.

The practical meaning of the dimension can be inferred from an inspection of the items. An officer who has the positive qualities identified with the dimension has a constructive orientation toward bettering community life; his use of power is self-controlled and not extended beyond the demands of a situation; and he has personal qualities of honsety, tolerance and humanness. Conversely, an officer with the negative qualities of the dimension is one whose actions detract from the quality of community life, whose use of power is excessive and unnecessarily violent, and who has personal qualities of dishonesty and intolerance. The positive end of the dimension provides definition of the characteristics that the respondents value in law officers and the negative end defines those characteristics which they dislike.

The values assigned by each respondent to the individual items were summated to obtain the respondents' overall evaluations of law officers for the Model Officer dimension. The distribution of the scale scores of the respondents for the Model Officer dimension is presented in histogram form in Figure 1. To facilitate interpretation, the scale scores have been categorized into the evaluation categories: very negative, negative, neutral, positive, and very positive. As can be seen from the figure, 25% of the students rated law officers as having characteristics associated with the low (or undesirable) end of the dimension; 59% rated officers as having the characteristics identified with the high (or desirable) end of the dimension; and 16% of the students rated officers halfway between the two extremes of the dimension.

FIGURE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS:
MODEL LAW OFFICER DIMENSION



Professional Competency and Quality of Interpersonal Relationships

These two dimensions are sub-components of the Model Law Officer dimension. The following statement may help the reader to conceptualize the relationship of the three dimensions. The ideal law officer has certain general characteristics (Model Law Officer items); and, more specifically, he is skilled in his work (Professional Competency items) and also responds well to the people he contacts (Interpersonal Relations items). The items mathematically associated with the Professional Competency dimension appear in Table 2 which is identical in format to Table 1. An officer who possesses the positive qualities of this dimension is well trained and skilled in his profession; highly motivated, efficient and thorough; and allocates his time to those matters of most serious consequence to the community. Conversely, an officer with the negative characteristics of the dimension is incompetent, inefficient and poorly motivated, careless and spends the majority of his time on unimportant matters.

TABLE 2

STUDENT RATINGS—

PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCY DIMENSION

FACTOR LOADINGS	ITEMS	
.74	Highly skilled in their work.	Incompetent in their work.
.72	Are efficient.	Are inefficient.
.71	Are well trained.	Are poorly trained.
.70	Do their job thoroughly.	Do their job carelessly.
.67	Do their job to best of ability.	Don't try to do a good job.
.55	Reliable.	Inconsistent.
.53	Spend time on important things.	Spend time on trivial things.
.52	Help people solve their problems.	Indifferent to people's problems.

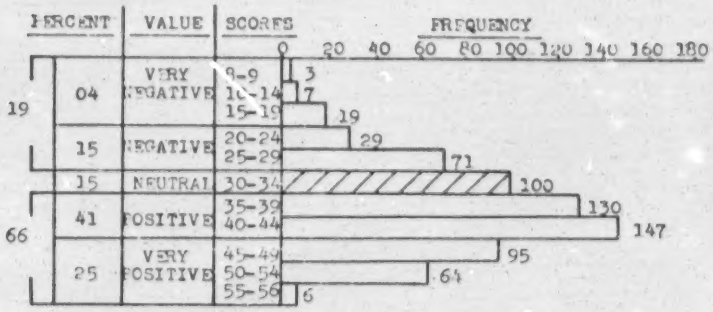
Scale scores for the Professional Competency dimension were derived as previously described, and their distribution appears in

Figure 2. From the figure it can be seen that 19% of the students rated officers as having the undesirable characteristics associated with the dimension, while 66% rated officers as having the desirable characteristics; and the remaining 15% gave ratings midway between the two extremes of the dimension.

FIGURE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS —

PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCY DIMENSION



The items correlated with the Interpersonal Relations dimension appear in Table 3, page 10. Collectively, the items are descriptive of the personal manner with which law officers interact with persons whom they contact. Positive characteristics are warmth and friendliness; open mindedness and fairness; courtesy and respect; and non-violence. Conversely, negative characteristics are hostility and coldness; bias and intolerance; discourtesy and lack of respect; and roughness and violence. The distribution of scale ratings for this dimension appear in Figure 3, page 10. In summary, 25% of the students rated law officers as having negative qualities in their interpersonal behavior, while 59% gave positive ratings. The remaining 16% rated officers midway between the two extremes of the scale.

Impartiality The questionnaire items which measured the degree to which the respondents felt that law enforcement officers are impartial in carrying out their responsibilities have a format slightly different from the other items. Each item had at the extremes of the rating scale two different categories of persons, e.g., man and woman. The respondents were asked to indicate whether they felt that preferential treatment by law officers would be given to one or the other, or if officers would respond to both impartially. The "Equal" treat-

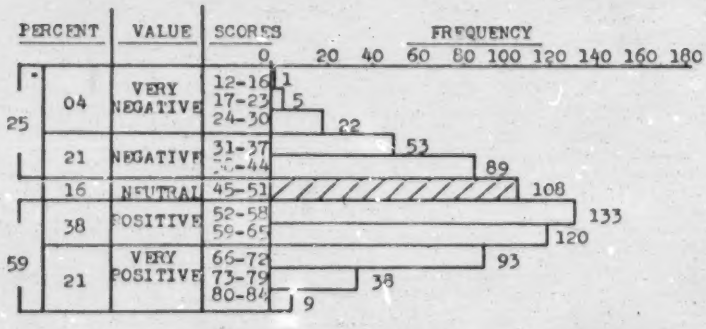
TABLE 8

STUDENT RATINGS— INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS DIMENSION

FACTOR LOADINGS	ITEMS	
.67	Friendly.	Hostile.
.64	Courteous.	Discourteous.
.62	Kind.	Cruel.
.60	Peaceful.	Violent.
.58	Respectful.	Disrespectful.
.58	Warm.	Cold.
.58	Fair.	Biased.
.54	Sensitive.	Callous.
.54	Helpful.	Disruptive.
.54	Gentle.	Rough.
.52	Open-minded.	Close-minded.
.45	Relaxed.	Tense.

FIGURE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS — INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS DIMENSION

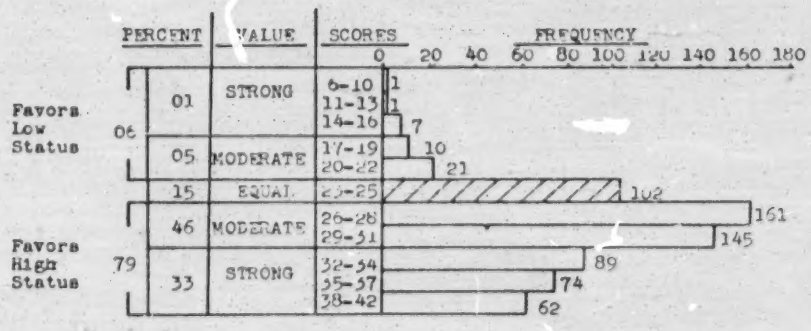


ment , or impartiality category, occured at the middle of the scale. The respondents therefor had the option of making their ratings at any point between the two ends of the scale to indicate the degree to which they felt that officers favor men, women, or are impartial. Factor analysis of the item intercorrelations produced three dimensions which are relatively independent of each other and also independent of Model Law Officer dimensions. Each of the three impartiality dimensions is described below.

The items identified with the Community Status dimension clearly reflect differences in the social and economic status of community members. On each item a higher status community member is matched against a lower status member. The items and the ratings given law officers by the respondents appear in Table 4, page 12. Scale scores for the dimension were obtained as previously described and their distribution is presented in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS OF IMPARTIALITY — STATUS



It is apparent from an inspection of the distribution of scale scores that the respondents felt that law officers give preferential treatment to higher status community members. Only six percent felt that lower status persons were favored, 15% indicated equal or impartial treatment, and 79% felt that the higher status members of the pairs would receive better treatment by law officers.

The person-pairs of items which comprise the Ethnocentrism dimension are best described in terms of "ethnic" differences. For each item, one member of the pair is a member of a distinctive "subculture" while the other member is most frequently identified with

the majority culture. The individual items appear in Table 4, and the distribution of total scale scores is presented in Figure 5, page 13. The respondents rated law officers as being biased in favor of majority culture persons. Only eight percent indicated that they felt officers would give preferred treatment to "sub-cultural" persons, while 81% felt majority culture members would be favored. The remaining 11% indicated that officers would act impartially.

TABLE 4

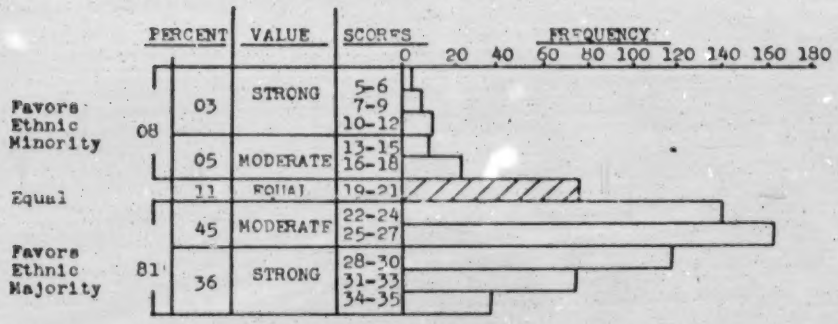
STUDENT RATINGS — IMPARTIALITY DIMENSION

FACTOR LOADINGS	ITEMS	
	ETHNOCENTRISM	
.55	Other.	Hippy.
.64	White.	Black.
.64	White.	Indian.
.61	Short haired male.	Long haired male.
.43	Community member.	College student.
	MALE VS. FEMALE	
.74	Girl.	Boy.
.69	Woman.	Man.
	COMMUNITY STATUS	
.62	Businessman.	Laborer.
.58	Doctor.	Worker.
.49	Politician.	Citizen.
.48	Rich.	Poor.
.44	Employed.	Unemployed.
.40	Adult.	Youth.

FIGURE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS OF IMPARTIALITY —

ETHNOCENTRISM

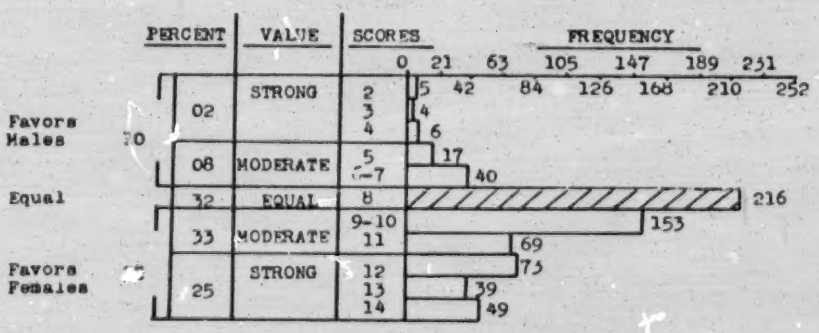


Although only two items are associated with the Sex dimension, their correlation with each other, and their relative independense of other dimensions, were sufficient to establish a stable factor. Both items concern favorability of treatment by officers toward females vs males. The items appear in Table 4, and the distributions of total scale scores is in Figure 6. Fifty eight percent of the respondents felt that officers would give females preferential treatment, while only 10% felt males would be favored; and 32% indicated that both would be treated equally.

FIGURE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS OF IMPARTIALITY —

MALE VS FEMALE



SUMMARY COMMENTS - RATINGS OF LAW OFFICERS

The structure of student ratings of law enforcement officers is well defined. Ratings vary along two primary dimensions which are relatively independent of each other. The first dimension defines personal and professional characteristics of law officers, and the second the impartiality with which officers administer law. Ratings of officers on these two dimensions provide a clear picture of what students feel about the quality of law enforcement in Humboldt County.

Approximately 60% of the respondents gave favorable ratings to law officers on the three scales measuring professional skills and qualities of interpersonal relationship, while about 40% gave "neutral" and negative evaluations. The question which logically rises, "is this good?", cannot be answered simply and directly. Certainly a majority of the respondents feel that law officers possess the attributes they regard as important; and it can be inferred that this majority has positive attitudes toward law enforcement in general. On the other hand, a substantial minority of the respondents gave neutral and negative ratings to law officers, and nearly one-fourth gave distinctively negative ratings. This finding suggests that there may be a lack of rapport between law officers and 25 to 40 percent of advanced standing high school youth. If the law ratings reflect a negativity toward law enforcement in general, then the obtained results indicate a problem of serious proportion; particularly if such attitudes lead to violations of the community's structure of law. What factors contribute to negative as opposed to positive evaluations of law enforcement officers? Although subsequent sections of this report are devoted to an investigation of this critical question, much further research is needed to provide a definitive answer. Logically, there are two sources of negativity: first those law officers themselves whom the respondents have contacted directly or indirectly may actually behave in a manner consistent with the negative end of the rating scale; and second, the life experiences of these youth may predispose them to feel negatively about law enforcement officers, independently of their actual qualities. Obviously, these two possible sources of negativity are not mutually exclusive.

It is one of society's ideals that its law be administered impartially. Since actions of law enforcement officers are the most

conspicuous manifestation of our system of law, the respondents' ratings of impartiality assume particular importance. It is clear from the analysis of ratings that a large majority of the students do not feel that law officers are impartial in their treatment of people, but instead favor those higher in community social and economic status, those of the majority "cultural" group, and females over males. Apparently most respondents believe in the cynical statement that "our system of equal law is more equal to some than to others", at least as far as the actions of law officers are concerned. Whether the ratings of the respondents represent an adjustment to the "realities" of an unequal system of justice, or whether they constitute a serious problem depends upon one's value orientation. If a problem is seen, then it becomes important to determine why the respondents feel that law officers act with partiality toward certain groups. The logical source of such feelings are that officers <u>are</u> partial, or that certain general feelings of the respondents arising from their life circumstances lead them to believe that partiality exists, even though it may not. Again the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. Further research is needed to identify the factors which contribute to the students' feelings that law officers are partial in the performance of their duties.

SUBGROUP COMPARISON OF RATINGS

The displays of ratings given law enforcement officers in the preceding section depicted considerable variation in the respondents' evaluations. The investigators were interested in identifying, in so far as possible within the scope of the study, the sources of variation in students' ratings. As a preliminary step, the total sample was divided into various subgroups as follows:

(a) male vs female respondents,
(b) the five different schools attended by the respondents,
(c) four income levles of respondents' parents, and
(d) 40 identified non-white, minority students vs 40 randomly selected white students.

The investigators computed the average ratings of each subgroup category, then made between category comparisons. Analysis of variance procedures were used to determine the probability that observed differences were due to chance. The averages for each subgroup of the

four categories above appear in Table 5. The "F values" on the last line of each division are the consequence of the analysis of variance procedures. Generally speaking, the larger the F value reported, the less likely the observed differences in average ratings are due to chance factors. The decimal figures at the bottom of the page indicate the probability that the differences are due to chance. The investigators rejected the proposition that any observed difference was due to chance if the probability of this occurence was .05 or less. Those F values without asterisks reflect observed differences in subgroup averages which were judged to be within the realm of chance variation, thus not reflecting reliable differences in the average ratings of the groups.

Sex Differences The female respondents gave law officers significantly higher ratings on the three scales measuring professional and personal charactersitics, and the greatest difference occurs for the scores on the Interpersonal Relations scale. These findings are consistent with those of similar attitude studies which indicate that adolescent girls are somewhat more conforming than boys and have more benevolent feelings toward male authority figures. It is possible that these feelings have foundation in fact. By social custom, girls generally receive preferred treatment from male authority figures, and they may reciprocate with positive regard. Adolescent boys, however, are more intensely involved in the process of emancipation and the development of autonomy. This process often involves some rebellion against the father, a rebellion which not infrequently is generalized to male authority outside the home. Then too, by cultural tradition, male authority figures tend to respond more firmly to the vagrancies of adolescent boys than to those of girls.

Significant sex differences also occur in ratings of impartiality. Although both girls and boys feel that officers give preferred treatment to girls, boys feel that this favoritism is stronger than do the girls. On the other hand, girls more than boys feel that officers favor majority culture categories of persons in contrast with "subcultural" persons. This latter difference, although statistically significant, is actually too small to have any practical consequence.

Differences in Schools The average ratings on all scales were computed for each of the five schools in the study sample. As can be seen from Table 5, overall variation from school to school is rather

Table 5. Group Comparisons
Average Ratings Of Law Enforcement Officers
Rating Dimensions

SAMPLE DIVISIONS		No.	Model Law Officer	Professional Competency	Interpersonal Relations	Impartiality		
						Sex	Ethnic	Status
SEX	M	341	52.1	36.6	51.2	9.8	24.8	29.4
	F	330	55.7	38.8	56.4	9.2	25.7	30.0
	F values		11.81***	8.98**	27.02***	11.84***	4.34*	1.62
SCHOOLS	1	189	56.1	39.6	55.1	9.9	25.8	30.1
	2	103	51.6	34.5	53.7	9.1	25.5	29.4
	3	112	53.9	37.5	52.8	9.9	25.3	30.4
	4	130	53.2	37.5	52.7	9.8	24.8	29.6
	5	137	53.1	37.9	53.8	9.3	24.9	28.8
	F values		2.42*	4.89***	.86	2.47*	.94	1.57
INCOME	1 Lo	110	52.3	36.6	53.3	9.2	24.1	29.4
	2	202	53.6	37.7	55.1	9.3	24.8	29.6
	3	275	55.1	38.6	54.1	9.8	25.5	29.7
	4 Hi	84	54.2	37.0	52.5	9.8	26.3	30.3
	F values		1.93	1.65	1.89	1.61	2.50*	.52
MINORITY	White	40	54.2	38.9	54.1	9.5	25.2	29.7
	Non White	40	49.4	34.8	49.3	9.7	26.2	28.9
	F values		4.80**	3.41*	5.01**	.08	1.16	.80

* significant at .05; ** .01; *** .001

minor. There were, however, several significant differences. School 1 respondents gave the highest ratings on the three scales assessing professional competency and quality of interpersonal relations. With one exception (Interpersonal Relations scale), School 2 respondents made the lowest ratings. The remaining three schools occupied intermediate positions between these two. There are notable differences in the demographic characteristics of School 1 and School 2. The former is situated close to the population center of the County, while the latter is remote to this center. School 2 also has a higher concentration of minority students than does School 1. Whether these contrasting characteristics contribute to the differences in the ratings of the respondents cannot be determined from the information obtained in the study. The more precise identification of the relationship between such demographic information and attitudes toward law enforcement should be undertaken in future studies.

Differences in Income Levels The respondents from all schools were divided into four groups according to the income levels of their parents. It is apparent from the display of scale averages in Table 5, that income level of parents is not systematically related to the respondents' ratings of law officers. This finding contrasts with a common stereotype that people in lower income groups feel greater resentment toward authority. It is, however, consistent with the results of studies of other investigators. A trend in the impartiality ratings of the different income groups can be observed in Table 5. Respondents from higher income homes rate officers as being more partial to select social groups than do respondents from lower income homes. The actual differences are too small to warrant interpretation.

Majority vs Minority Because of restrictions imposed by stipulations governing the collection of questionnaire information, identification of the minority-majority status was possible in only one school. The ratings of forty minority students were contrasted with those of forty "majority" students randomly selected from the sample. As can be seen from the display of average ratings in Table 5, minority students gave substantially lower ratings on the three scales assessing personal and professional qualities of law officers. The sources of these differences logically derive from either or both of the following conditions. First, the general life experiences of the minority students may predispose them to have somewhat more negative attitudes

toward authority in general and toward law officers in particular. Pertinent aspects of such experience may be prejudicial treatment by members of the majority culture which in turn generate feelings of resentment among minority persons. That such prejudice does exist is an unpleasant but documented fact of community life. If the minority respondents feel resentment toward the majority, such feeling may find expression in more negative attitudes toward law officers who are not only conspicuous representatives of social authority, but also are most often members of the majority culture. The second logical source of differences in the ratings of minority vs majority respondents is in the nature of the actual interactions of minority students with law officers. The minority respondents may behave in such a way that they receive harsher treatment, or law officers themselves, because of acquired stereotypes, may not respond as well to minority persons as they do to others. These comments must be considered as largely speculative in the absence of more definitive information.

Summary Comments on Group Differences As noted in the immediately preceding section, a number of significant differences in the average ratings of sample subgroups were identified. Girls gave higher ratings than boys, respondents from the school nearest the counties population center gave more favorable ratings than those in a school more remote, and minority students gave lower ratings than a random sample of non-minority students. Various reasons were offered for these significant differences. The group comparisons enable a partial "explanation" of variance in student evaluations of law officers in that they show that some of this variance is systematically distributed in accordance with subgroup membership. In plain language, this means that belonging to a certain group, e. g., boy or girl, minority or majority, is to a significant extent predictive of attitudes toward law officers.

The population from which the sample was drawn (advanced level high school youth), is narrow in comparison to the total range of people residing in Humboldt County. As a consequence, many group comparisons of importance could not be made. Possible differences in attitudes toward law enforcement over a wide span of age groups, for example, from fourth grade through adulthood, would indicate age periods where critical lack of rapport between youth and law officers

began to develop. Programs to promote more positive relationships would be most effectively employed at or preceding these periods. It is also important to study possible differinces between youth attitudes and those of adults. Although the sample size was too small to be representative, the ratings given law officers by Grand Jury members were much higher than those given by the high school respondents. Further, a number of questionnaires completed by adult residents who have chosen a life style distinctively different from the majority, gave law officers much lower ratings than did the high school students.

The practical significance of subgroup differences is that attitudes toward law enforcement are not uniformly distributed throughout the County's population. Programs designed to improve relationships between law officers and residents will be most effective if they are directed toward those groups and age periods identified as having the most seriously negative attitudes, once the causes of negativity have been clarified.

PERSONAL-SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND RATINGS OF LAW OFFICERS

As stated in the preceding section of this report, the investigators have attempted to identify the sources of variation in ratings of law officers. It was demonstrated that subgroup membership was one such source. Implicit in the following analysis is the assumption that ratings of law officers are influenced by the broader, and perhaps more stable, personal and social attitudes of the respondents; and that these latter attitudes constitute an important source of variation in the evaluatory ratings.

The item pool for the personal-social attitude information field was designed to reflect two primary concepts. The first concerns feelings of alienation, the feeling of not belonging to, or being valued by others and by society in general. The second concerns authoritarianism, which in a broad snese, means an unquestioning belief in the "rightness" of authority no matter what the circumstances. Authoritarianism may also mean an acceptance of the majority point of view and a rejection of divergent opinions on controversial issues. Both of these attitudes were, in previous studies by the present investigators and others, shown to be related to a broad range of social behavior.

The Structure of Personal-Social Attitudes The questionnaire items which constituted the personal-social information field were intercorrelated and factor analyzed following the procedure described in earlier sections of this report. The analysis produced three independent attitude dimensions. The three attitude dimensions are described below, and an analysis of their relation to ratings of law officers follows.

Alienation The items correlated with the Alienation dimension appear in Table 6, and the distribution of total scale scores is presented in Figure 7. It can be inferred from an inspection of the items that alienation encompasses the following feelings:

(1) not being valued or understood by others, especially by those in positions of prestige and authority;
(2) having a system of values and priorities felt to conflict with those of the majority;
(3) experiencing a sense of injustice about the quality of treatment accorded by those in more powerful positions;
(4) feelings of powerlessness to direct one's own life; and,
(5) a sense of personal unhappiness and aloneness.

TABLE 6

ALIENATION ITEMS

ITEMS	FACTOR LOADINGS
Inside myself, I feel very angry at the way I am treated. (agree ++ + o − −− disagree)	.66
I think that persons in positions of authority don't really know or understand persons like myself. (agree ++ + o − −− disagree)	.60
I am disgusted and angry at the insensitive way in which common people are treated by persons in positions of authority. (agree ++ + o − −− disagree)	.57
I would be much happier if I lived in a society where the individual was treated with more decency and respect. (agree ++ + o − −− disagree)	.53
I beleive that most persons in positions of authority probably wouldn't approve of the things I think and do. (agree ++ + o − −− disagree)	.51
I am perfectly content and happy with my life. (agree ++ + o − −− disagree)	−.51
I have serious doubts that I will ever fit in with society. (agree ++ + o − −− disagree)	.44

FACTOR LOADINGS

Young people are given no position of real importance and responsibility in our society. .42

agree ++ + o - -- disagree

More than almost anything else I would like to be free to make my own decisions and manage my own life. .42

agree ++ + o - -- disagree

Equal justice is not given to all members of our society. .41

agree ++ + o - -- disagree

Life would be better for everyone if things were simpler. .38

agree ++ + o - -- disagree

In my life there isn't any place where I am truly wanted by others. .34

agree ++ + o - -- disagree

The things I value most in life are not regarded as important by society in general. .32

agree ++ + o - -- disagree

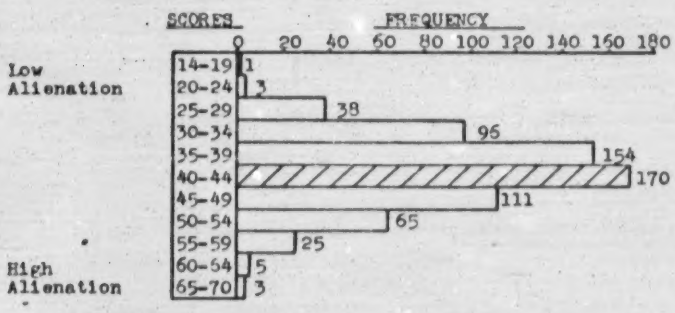
I like myself just as I am. -.28

agree ++ + o - -- disagree

FIGURE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS—

ALIENATION SCALE SCORES



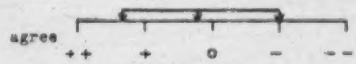
That alienation is not a pleasant condition is obvious from the description above. It therefor, seems reasonable to assume that those respondents who indicated a substantial degree of alienation did not deliberately select this state of existence. Rather, it seems more likely that the events and circumstances of their lives, not under immediate conscious control, resulted in feelings of alienation.

Authoritarian Orientation The items associated with the authoritarian attitude dimension appear in Table 7, and the distribution of total scale scores is in Figure 8. Inspection of the items suggest the following to be the principal components of an authoritarian orientation:

(1) punishment should be the necessary consequence of violation of the principles of authority;
(2) punishment of violations of authority is the best deterrent to future violations;
(3) leniency and indulgence generate a disrespect for authority and diminish personal character;
(4) people who violate authority, or who otherwise fail to achieve social and economic success, do so because of intrinsic character flaws; and,
(5) good leaders are those who are strong and forceful.

TABLE 7

AUTHORITARIANISM ITEMS

ITEMS	FACTOR LOADINGS
One of the chief causes of the increase in crime is that the courts have been too lenient with violators. 	.59
Unless violators of the law are punished, they will continue to repeat their anti-social acts.	.56
The number one problem of America's youth today is their use of illegal drugs.	.49
Adults have become much too permissive and indulgent in their relations with youth.	.48
The problem with being lenient with first offenders is that they learn they can get by with illegal behavior.	.46
Parents who fail to teach their children to be obedient and respectful to authority are not living up to their social obligations.	.44
Theives are best described as persons who would rather steal than work for a living.	.44

ITEMS	FACTOR LOADINGS
Too much respect has been given to the rights of suspected criminals and not enough to the rights of the public against whom crimes have been committed.	.42
Welfare aid to the poor tends to encourage laziness and dependency.	.40
Our country needs stronger more forceful leaders.	.39
People in low income groups lack either the ability or drive to get ahead.	.37
Some persons by nature are destined to lives of crimes and disorder.	.37
There is no such thing as a born criminal.	.35

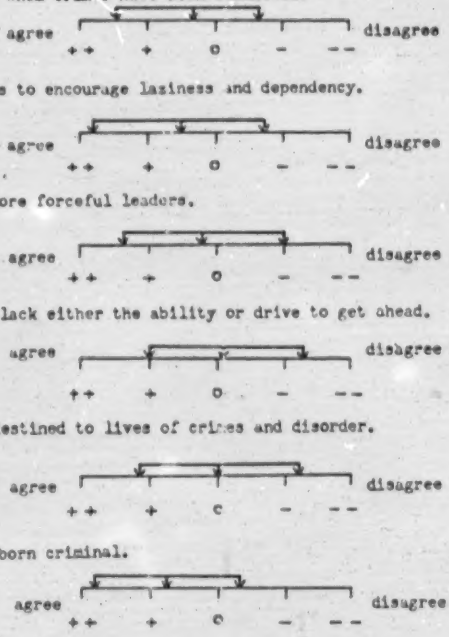
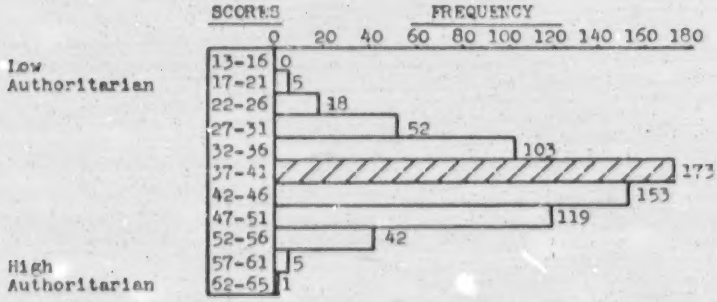


FIGURE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS —

AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE SCORES



An authoritarian orientation, as defined by the items on this dimension, implies more than a simple respect for the structure of authority in the society. Beyond such respect, there seems to be an implicit belief that those in positions of authority are always "right", and that those who violate authority are always "wrong". There would appear to be, on the part of those with a strong authoritarian orientation, a lack of distinction between the ideals of our system of government by law, and the actual day-to-day practices of

the persons who occupy positions of authority within this system. The emphasis on punishment, which characterizes this dimension, suggests that those with a strong authoritarian orientation have intermingled the ideas of "morality" with those of "legality", issues which most scholars of government believe should be considered independently.

Law and Order Orientation The items associated with this attitude dimension appear in Table 8, and the distribution of total scale scores is presented in Figure 9. The items appear to express the following themes:

(1) maintenance of the structure of law which governs community is the responsibility of all persons;
(2) those designated to enforce laws must have adequate financial support and community cooperation;
(3) agencies of law operate most effectively when their activities are directed toward prevention of crime; and,
(4) respect for law is seriously diminished by the actions of those in positions of authority who themselves act illegally.

TABLE 8

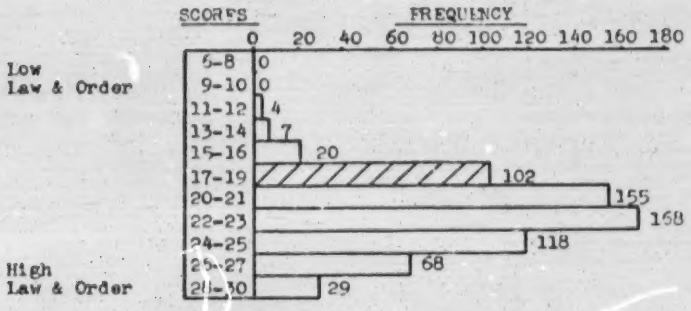
LAW AND ORDER

ITEMS	FACTOR LOADINGS
Law enforcement is the responsibility of all members of the community, not just the police.	.44
If there were fewer police there would be fewer criminals.	.41
A greater portion of the tax dollar should be given to law enforcement agencys so they can get their jobs done.	.41
The primary goal of all enforcement agencys should be to prevent crimes from occuring rather than the apprehension of criminals.	.40
Members of law enforcement agencies are overworked and underpaid.	.40
Numerous instances of dishonesty and corruption among our leaders have reduced the respect of youth for authority.	.34

FIGURE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS

LAW AND ORDER SCALE SCORES



The principal concept which characterizes a "law and order" orientation is that of community envolvement in maintainance of lawfulness. Law enforcement agencies appear to be considered adjuncts of the community rather than its controllers, adjuncts which require active support of all citizens in order to be effective. The system of law is perceived as a functional, constructive aspect of community life, and the most effective utilization of law agencies is to the goal of preventing violations, rather than apprehension and punishment. The system of law is seen to be susceptible to threat by instances of illegal behavior by those persons in positions of public authority, implying the belief that laws apply equally to all persons.

Law Officer Ratings and Personal-Social Attitudes For each of the three personal-social attitude scales, the respondents were divided into seven groups according to the degree to which they had expressed the attitude measured by that scale.[1] In each such categorization, group 1 respondents were those with the highest scores, group 2 those with the next highest, and so on to group 7 which was comprised of the respondents with the lowest scores. Group 4 consisted of those with scores within the average range. For each scale, therefor, the respondents were ranked in seven categories which ranged from those most in agreement with the attitude dimension to those in least agreement.

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1. The scale score limits for the categories were established by subtracting and adding to the scale means successive .5's of the scale standard deviations. The middle category had a range of one standard deviation and all others a range of .5 of a standard deviation.

The average ratings given law officers were then computed for each of the seven categories of the three personal-social attitude scales. Analysis of variance was conducted to determine the probability that variation in the category averages was due to chance. The possibility of chance variation, as opposed to systematic variation, was rejected when that possibility (chance) was .05 or less. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 9, page 28.

Alienation and Ratings of Law Officers As can be seen from Table 9, there is a highly significant relationship between the degree of alienation and evaluations given law officers. Those respondents who indicated the strongest feelings of alienation gave law officers the lowest ratings, while those who least indicated alienation gave the highest ratings. With minor exception, the ratings were linear throughout all seven categories; that is, ratings of law officers ascended in almost perfect order from the most alienated group to the least alienated. The degree of alienation is not only related to ratings of the professional and interpersonal characteristics of law officers, but also to the impartiality with which officers perform their functions. Those most alienated perceive significantly greater bias than those respondents who are least alienated. The degree to which respondents experience feelings of alienation is an important source of variation in ratings given law officers. The strength of this relationship is revealed in Figure 10.

FIGURE 10

MODEL LAW OFFICER SCALE RATINGS

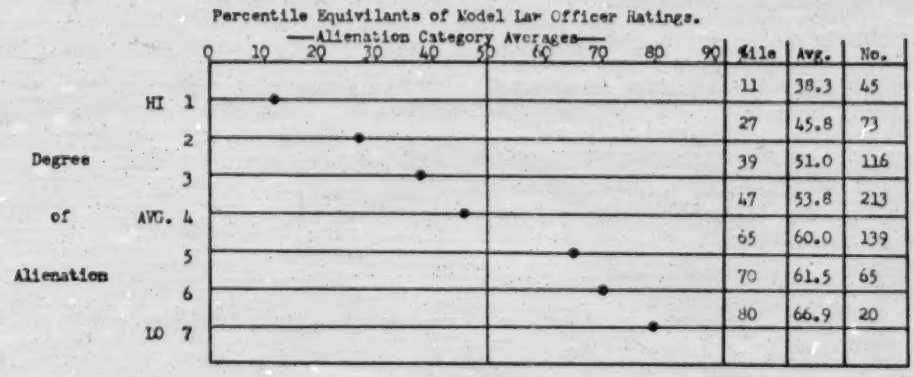


Table 9 - Analysis of the Relation of Personal-Social Attitudes to Ratings of Law Enforcement Officers

Average Ratings on Law Officer Evaluation Scales

Personal-Social Scales		N	Model Law Officer	Professional Competency	Interpersonal Relations	Impartiality		
						Status	Ethnic	Sex
Degree of Alienation	Hi 1	45	38.8	31.2	43.8	32.7	27.9	11.1
	2	73	45.8	33.5	47.5	31.0	26.4	9.8
	3	116	51.0	36.1	49.7	30.8	25.6	9.8
	M 4	213	53.8	37.4	53.9	29.4	24.9	9.3
	5	139	60.0	40.9	58.2	29.0	25.1	9.3
	6	65	61.5	41.7	61.3	27.4	23.6	9.2
	Lo 7	20	66.9	45.4	66.4	27.1	24.4	9.4
		F values	32.45***	15.47***	21.67***	8.03***	3.54**	4.27***
Degree of Authoritarian Orientation	Hi 1	23	62.0	43.5	64.8	27.9	23.7	9.9
	2	63	57.3	40.0	57.3	28.9	24.6	9.6
	3	111	56.4	39.1	56.7	29.3	24.6	9.5
	M 4	270	55.3	38.0	55.1	29.8	25.6	9.5
	5	95	51.6	36.8	51.3	30.4	25.7	9.8
	6	59	49.4	35.7	48.4	30.2	26.3	9.3
	Lo 7	50	41.3	31.7	40.9	32.3	28.3	9.3
		F values	13.27***	6.88***	17.49***	2.69*	3.01**	.31
Degree of Law and Order Orientation	Hi 1	56	61.0	41.2	59.3	29.5	25.7	9.6
	2	100	57.9	40.8	57.8	29.6	25.2	9.8
	3	132	56.5	39.2	55.8	29.5	25.3	9.6
	M 4	177	55.1	37.7	54.9	29.6	25.6	9.5
	5	119	50.1	35.8	50.8	30.2	25.4	9.6
	6	56	45.7	33.0	45.8	30.1	24.6	9.3
	Lo 7	31	39.3	31.4	41.0	28.6	23.6	9.4
		F values	18.33***	10.00***	15.13***	.44	.80	.36

* sig. at .05 level; ** at .01; *** at .001

The average scores on the Model Law Officer rating scale for each of the seven alienation categories were transformed to percentile equivalents. The percentile value for any score is simply the percentage of respondents in the total sample who had that score or a lower one. It can be seen from Figure 10 that average Model Law Officer ratings of the most alienated group was equivalant to the 11th percentile in comparison to the total sample, while the average rating of the least alienated group was equivalant to the 80th percentile.

From a practical point of view, the relationship between feelings of alienation and ratings of law officers assumes major importance. Those youth who feel most alienated from their society apparently experience the least rapport with its law enforcement agents. Additional research is needed to identify those processes which result in alienation. Community programs directed toward the improvement of relations between youth and authority would be most effectively directed toward those youth who are most alienated. Careful thought should be given to the interruption of the processes, once identified, which lead to alienation.

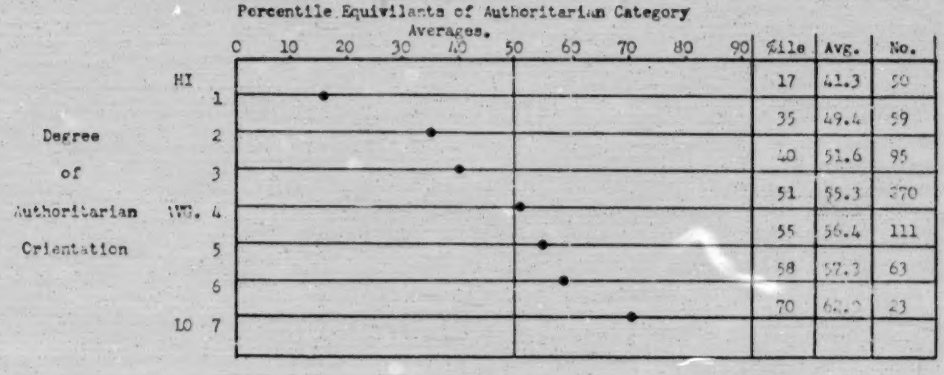
Authoritarian Orientation and Officer Rating It is evident from an inspection of the information displayed in Table 9 that there is a strong relationship between authoritarian attitudes and ratings of law officers. Those respondents with the strongest attitudes (authoritarian) gave the highest ratings, while those with the least strong gave the lowest. For the most part, the relationship between authoritarian attitudes and officer ratings is linear through the seven categories. For purposes of visualizing the contribution of authoritarian attitude scores to variation in officer ratings, the percentile equivalants of category averages on the Model Officer scale are presented in Figure 11 below.

If the description of authoritarian orientation made earlier is an accurate definition of the attitude this scale measures, then the above relationships are logical. Respondents with a belief in the positive qualities of authority figures would be predisposed to give good ratings, virtually independent of the actual qualities of the particular authority figures being evaluated, just as those respondents who are highly alienated would be predisposed to give uniformly poor ratings. The investigators feel somewhat uncomfortable about the authoritarian orientation since it implies to them the acceptance of

the principle of government by men rather than by law. The reader, however, should be free to form his own conclusions, and to make his own interpretation of the data supplied. The investigators hope, however, that the successful adjustment of youth in our communities is not contingent upon their adoption of authoritarian attitudes.

FIGURE II

MODEL LAW OFFICER SCALE RATINGS



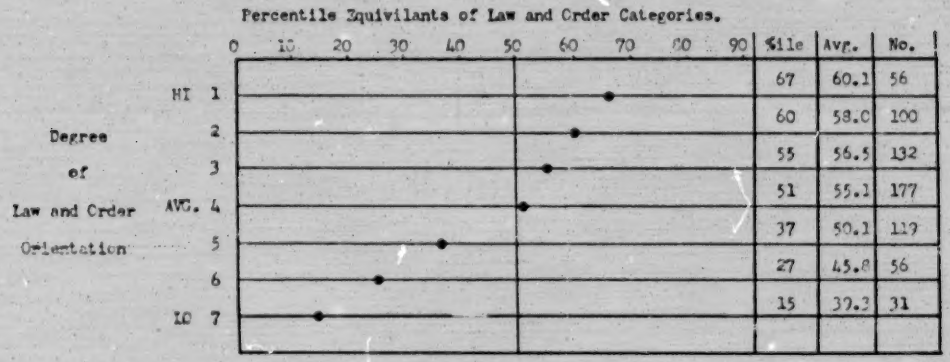
Law and Order Orientation and Officer Ratings The ratings given law officers by respondents in the seven categories of Law and Order scores appear in Table 9. The percentile equivalants of the category means (Model Law Officer scale) are presented in Figure 12 below. Again there is a significant relationship between the personal-social attitude scale and ratings of law officers. Those respondents with the strongest law and order orientation gave the highest ratings, and those with the least gave the lowest ratings. However, this relationship is evident only for the three scales measuring the respondents' evaluations of the professional and interpersonal characteristics of law officers. There are no significant differences in category means on the three scales assessing respondents' ratings of impartiality. Ratings of impartiality, therefor, are not influenced by the degree of law and order orientation.

Students who have strong law and order orientations appear to be identified with the community, and to perceive law officers as essential to the maintainence of orderly processes. Their attitudes toward officers are favorable and supportive. On the other hand, students with low scores apparently feel isolated from the community

and its processes, and to experience antipathy toward law officers and their role in community life.

FIGURE 12

MODEL LAW OFFICER SCALE RATINGS



Comments on Responses to Personal-Social Attitude Scales It has been shown that there is a strong relationship between respondents' scores on the personal-social attitude scales and their ratings of law officers. The investigators assume that the attitude scores are valid reflections of the students' true feelings, and that these are more primary than their ratings of law officers. If these assumptions are true, then several conclusions logically follow. First, it can be said that the students' evaluation of law officers are significantly influenced by their more basic personal-social attitudes. It can also be said that these attitudes are influential in the determination of a broad range of social behavior critical both to youth and the community. There is an obvious need for additional study to verify the important relationships found in the present investigation.

PART II ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY AND STUDENT ADJUSTMENT PATTERNS

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY VARIABLES AND GROUP COMPARISONS

This section of the report presents the results of an intensive study of the behavior patterns of 137 students at one of the County's high schools. The investigators were able to collate the information from the law enforcement questionnaire with a large pool of information previously obtained by ERA staff members in an ongoing study of factors which determine success or failure in high school.[1] The two data pools were cross-matched for 137 of the students included in the present study.

In addition to the information for each student obtained from the law enforcement questionnaire, a number of other measures were available from the general high school study. These measures were made approximately one year prior to the administration of the law enforcement questionnaire. The temporal interval separating collection of the two data sets is advantageous since it provides stringent tests of the reliability of the measuring instruments and of the stability of the behaviors and attitudes assessed. A brief description of the additional measures appears below.

(1) Grade Point Average (GPA) indicates the degree of success achieved by the student in his high school curriculum as judged by his teachers. The student's grade point average is particularly significant since it is the primary basis for a multitude of decisions which critically affect the life of a student, e. g., graduation from high school, admission to higher education programs, and employment opportunities. Just as important, grade point average is also an index by which the student evaluates his own competencies and abilities, and by which his parents evaluate his success in school. The grade point average of students in the study sample is, as the name describes, the average grade received in all high school courses taken by the student.

(2) Functional Information, Knowledge and Skill (FI) is a measure of the students' proficiencies in the basic academic skills which are prerequisite to effective interaction with the learning tasks presented in high school courses. In simple terms, FI is the "readiness base" for undertaking the mastery of new subject matter. If a student's readiness base is too deficient, he will be unable to master new material no matter how hard he tries. Examples of FI are the student's vocabulary, reading speed and comprehension, language skills, computational skills, and understanding of basic arithmetical concepts and their application. FI was measured by the California Test of Basic Skills, a commonly used standardized achievement test.

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1. A final report of the high school study is in preparation and will be available from ERA in mid summer.

(3) Abstract Reasoning Ability (AR) is a measure of the student's ability to think clearly and to make accurate perceptions. More specifically AR is the capacity to analyze complex situations, to infer from these their primary features, and to discover the common themes of interrelatedness among diverse sets of stimuli. Abstract reasoning ability is assumed by most psychologists to be the core behavior measured by intelligence tests. In the present study AR was assessed by the Raven Progressive Matrices, a standardized, non verbal test, which is relatively free from cultural bias. The Raven correlates highly with complex tasks which require the perception of relationships and problem solving.

(4) Model Behavior (MB) is a measure of the degree to which the student conforms to a model of behavior implicitly required by the school and its teachers. Several studies by ERA at both the elementary and high school level have identified the essential features of this behavior model to be:

(a) compliance in carrying out teachers' instructions including listening attentively, following mandated procedures and organization modes, and attention to details;

(b) conformity to prearranged schedules including being on time to class and appointments, handing assignments in at designated times, and being prepared for class activities;

(c) deference to authority including conformity to the school's rules and regulations concerning dress and appearance, social behavior in and out of class; respect for school property; and acceptance of teachers' judgements.

Earlier studies by ERA have demonstrated MB to be the single variable most critically related to students' grades. In the present study MB was measured by ratings of the students by teachers on a scale developed by ERA.

(5) Inappropriate Behavior (IB) is a complex measure of the students' infractions of school rules and regulations and subsequent disciplinary actions. The measure was compiled from analysis of student records of disciplinary referrals made over a period of one complete school year. Offenses were weighted on a "scale of seriousness" developed by ERA in consultation with the school's counselors. IB represents a behavioral index of degree of compliance vs non compliance to school regulations as interpreted by the teachers and Dean of Students.

(6) Social Achievement (SA) is a measure of success achieved by students in those peer activities sanctioned by the school. The measure is a compilation of the students' participation in extracurricular activities and clubs, and of their election to officership and leadership in student affairs.

(7) Self Concept-Teacher (SC-T) is a measure of students' impression of the value placed upon them by their teachers. The measure is based on the assumption that one of the primary determinants of an individual's self concept is his perception of what others think of him. Measures of SC-T were obtained from self ratings on a scale developed by ERA. The items on this scale reflect qualities such as smart vs dumb, good vs bad, hard working vs lazy, and important vs unimportant.

(8) Self Concept-Personal Potency (SC-P) is a measure of students' impression of their own attractiveness, strength, capability and independence. The measure was obtained from student self ratings on an ERA scale, and included items such as strong vs weak, free vs trapped, independent vs controlled, and attractive vs ugly.

Each of the variables described above was found to have a significant relationship to patterns of success and failure in the high school. When combined in a multiple regression equation, the measures generated a multiple correlation with high school grade point average of .84, which means statistically that the independent variance in the measures "accounts for" 71 percent of the total variation in students' high school grade averages. The multiple correlation of the measures with specific course grades (where MB ratings for each student by his teacher were obtained) was .86; indicating that the variables accounted for 74 percent of the variation in students' grades in specific courses. Although each measure contributed significantly to explanation of variance in grades, the most important were conformity to the school's behavior model (MB) and basic academic skills (FI).

Subgroup Comparisons Further analysis indicated that there were highly significant differences between socioeconomic groups, and majority vs minority students in average scores for all seven measures. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 10.

With only a few exceptions, the relationships between the study variables and socioeconomic classification are remarkably linear. with the average scores of Native American students at the low end of the scales, and those of high income white students at the high end of the scales. Particularly significant are the disparities in grade point average, the index which plays such a critical role in the lives of students. Opportunities for advanced education and for desirable employment are extremely limited for students with low grades. For example, admission to the California State University system is made on the basis of grades and academic aptitude, with grades being the more heavily weighted variable. Students who have a grade point average of 2.5 or less must score near the top of the aptitude test to gain admittance. Thus most students from lower income white homes and Native Americans are virtually excluded from admission. Equally important is the psychological impact on those students who year after year encounter the frustration of low and failing grades. Such negative reward over so long a period of time for a compulsory activity must inevitably result in low motivation to achieve, diminished self concept, and feelings of alienation. These psychological states lead to either (or both) of two primary reactive behaviors:

Table 10. Relation of Income Level to Study Variables

Classification by Income Level and Minority		School Success		Conformity		Intellectual Capability		Self Concept		No. of students
		GPA	SA	MB	IB	AR	FI	SC-T	SC-P	
	Lo 1	2.39	1.46	64.0	6.17	44.08	4.10	39.2	38.7	37
	2	2.40	2.00	66.2	5.09	44.11	4.29	40.9	40.9	35
	3	2.72	2.38	68.0	4.11	45.43	4.90	44.2	43.7	40
	Hi 4	3.15	3.80	71.9	3.78	49.66	6.12	46.2	45.5	41
	Minority +	1.90	1.98	50.1	7.20	45.44	3.78	37.8	39.2	50
	F value	19.97***	6.19***	11.88***	10.29***	3.36**	13.39***	11.23***	9.51***	203 Total

* .05
** .01 Significance
*** .001 Levels

Key to Symbols

GPA	grade point average, all courses
SA	social achievement, participation and leadership in peer activities
MB	model behavior, teacher ratings of students' degree of conformity
IB	inappropriate behavior, recognized violations of rules and regulations (actual score is the square of numbers in table)
AR	abstract reasoning ability - Raven Progressive Matrices raw score
FI	functional information and skill, proficiency in basic academic skills- CTBS stanine scores
SC-T	self concept - student's perception of how his teachers value him
SC-P	self concept - student's perception of his own strength and capabilities

+ Native American

apathy, withdrawal and dropping out; and anger, hostility, and aggression. Either reaction further reduces the students' chances for success in school, and contributes to the downward spiral of failure and demoralization.

It is important to note that the differences between groups in abstract reasoning ability (intelligence) are small, and the averages of all groups are near the 50th percentile on the test (Raven) norms. It therefor can be concluded that differences in intelligence are not determinants of group differences in school success. The principal determinants of low grades appear to be poorly developed proficiency in the basic academic skills, and low conformity as measured by teacher ratings on the Model Behavior scale and violations of the school's rules and regulations. Both low income white and Native American students are severely handicapped throughout their school careers by poorly developed academic skills in reading, math and language. The problem begins in the earliest elementary years and becomes more serious with each passing year until finally the point is reached (about the 5th - 7th grade) where the requirements of the curriculum totally exceed the level of skill achieved by the students. From that time on the students simply flounder in their courses until they drop out or, less frequently, are graduated. Compensatory education programs have not been effective in reducing deficiencies in academic skills, largely because they have not been directed to the root causes of the problem. The interested reader is directed to a report entitled "Factors Responsible for Low Achievement of Indian Elementary School Students"* for a comprehensive analysis of the causes of academic skill deficiencies. The same report discusses the origin of low conformity behavior, which is stipulated to be a joint consequence of student reaction to academic failure, and of conflict between the cultural model of the school and that of the sub-cultures of lower income and minority students.

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF STUDY VARIABLES AND OFFICER RATINGS

The variables described above were intercorrelated then factor analyzed to determine the dimensions which account for the obtained

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* Available from Project NICE. Marilyn Miles. 526 A Street. Eureka, California.

interrelationships. From this analysis general modes of student adjustment were identified, and the relationship of these modalities to law officer ratings then determined. The statistical procedures involved in this analysis are too complex to describe in detail in the present report; however, the results and their interpretation are presented below.

As discussed earlier, each of the measures described is significantly related to school success. Factor analysis of the intercorrelations among the measures clearly delineated two primary factors related to school success which the investigators interpreted as Conformity and Autonomy. The analysis from which this inference is made appears in Tables 11 and 12 below.

Table 11. Factor Structure of Basic Study Variables with Self Concept-Potency

Study Variables	Factors	
	I Conformity	II Autonomy
GPA (grades)	.74	.47
Course grade	.79	.29
MB (model behavior)	.83	.21
AR (abstract reasoning)	.12	.65
FI (CTBS)	.33	.67
IB (misconduct)	-.68	-.26
SA (social achievement)	.23	.59
SC-P (self concept potency)	.32	.54

Table 12. Factor Structure of Basic Study Variables with Self Concept-Teacher

Study Variables	Factors	
	I Conformity	II Autonomy
GPA (grades)	.71	.50
Course grade	.76	.31
MB (model behavior)	.85	.20
AR (abstract reasoning)	.14	.64
FI (CTBS)	.33	.68
IB (misconduct)	-.70	-.27
SA (social achievement)	.21	.59
SC-T (self concept teacher)	.52	.30

Successful school adjustment occurs as a function of two independent modalities. As can be seen from the above two tables, the Conformistic modality is characterized by teacher ratings of the degree to which the student conforms to the required model of behavior (MB), the avoidance of violating the school's rules and regulations (IB), and self concept based on how the student feels his teachers regard him (SC-T). The Autonomy modality has as its chief components abstract reasoning ability (AR), background in basic academic skills (FI), participation and leadership in sanctioned student activities (SA), and self concept based on the student's evaluation of his own strengths and capabilities (SC-P). The students' grades are significantly related to both adjustment dimensions; however, it is apparent from the differences in factor loadings that conformity is the more important determinant. The squared value of the factor loadings of a measure indicates the percent of variance in that measure which is common with the factor. Thus the Conformistic factor "accounts for" about 53 percent of the variance in grade point average, while the Autonomy factor "accounts for" about 23 percent. This differential weighting seems somewhat remarkable in view of the fact that the Autonomy factor is heavily saturated with intellectual components (AR and FI) while the Conformistic factor is not. If each of the factors described is conceptualized as a dimension along which students behavior varies, then students with highly conformistic behavioral characteristics receive high grades while those with low conformity behavior receive low grades. To a lesser extent, the degree to which students manifest the characteristics of the autonomous factor is positively related to the grades they receive.

The relation of the two adjustment modalities to ratings of law officers is shown in Tables 13 and 14. For purposes of simplicity, self concept measures have not been included in the data fields, and law officer ratings have been reduced to their primary dimensions, Personal and Professional Characteristics, and Impartiality.

The information in Table 13 portrays a clear relationship between adjustment modalities and ratings of law officers. Ratings of the Personal and Professional Characteristics vary as a function of degree of Conformity; but there is almost no relation between degree of Autonomy and ratings on this scale. It can therefor be concluded that conformity (as defined by the measures associated with the Conformity

factor) is an important source of variance in this dimension of law officer ratings. That this relationship is a stable one is substantiated by the fact that law officer ratings were obtained a full year after the other measures were made.

Table 13. Factor Structure of Study Variables and Law Officer Ratings - Personal and Professional Characteristics

Study Variables	Factors	
	I Conformity	II Autonomy
GPA (grades)	.69	.52
MB (model behavior)	.74	.35
FI (CTBS)	.17	.79
IB (misconduct)	-.72	-.30
SA (social achievement)	.23	.54
AR (abstract reasoning)	.04	.73
Rating-Pers. & Prof. Char.	.55	-.10

Table 14. Factor Structure of Study Variables and Law Officer Ratings - Impartiality

Study Variables	Factors		
	I Conformity	II Autonomy	III +AR-Alienation
GPA (grades)	.74	.43	-.19
MB (model behavior)	.79	.19	-.06
FI (CTBS)	.36	.59	.45
IB (misconduct)	-.77	-.19	.05
SA (social achievement)	.27	.61	-.18
AR (abstract reasoning)	.16	.57	.53
Rating-Impartiality	.02	-.15	-.58

Table 14 displays the relationship between the basic study variables and ratings of law officer Impartiality. A significant factor emerged from the analysis of the intercorrelations of the variables. The new factor is characterized by abstract reasoning (AR), and proficiency in academic skills as measured by the CTBS (FI). Despite the saturation of intellectual components, there are no significant loadings of measures of school success, either grades or social achievement. Therefor, this factor is interpreted as reflecting unfulfilled potential, and, as will be seen in subsequent development, is also

characterized by alienation. Interpreted as an adjustment modality, the dimension is a consequence of the interaction of abstract reasoning ability with alienation (AR x Alienation). The relationship is clearly illustrated in Table 15, which displays the results of factor analysis of the same study variables, but with the addition of the Alienation measure from the scale developed from the Law Officer Questionnaire.

Table 15. Factor Structure of Study Variables and Impartiality Ratings; Alienation, Potency

Study Variables	Factors	
	I Conformity & Autonomy	II +AR-Alienation
GPA (grades)	.86	.13
MB (model behavior)	.75	-.17
FI (CTBS)	.65	.49
IB (misconduct)	-.74	.20
SA (social achievement)	.54	-.07
AR (abstract reasoning)	.49	.60
SC-P(self concept potency)	.50	-.41
Alienation	-.36	.46
Rating-Impartiality	.02	-.57

A different configuration of factors appears when ratings of law officer Personal and Professional Characteristics are introduced in the matrix of study variables and Alienation (Table 16 below). A new factor, labeled Peer Acculturation-Alienation emerges and it is characterized by participation in school oriented peer activities (SA), Self Concept (SC-P), Alienation, and Non Conformity (MB and IB). The factor is primarily the consequence of the interactions of alienation, non conformity, and low self concept. Students with this combination of characteristics gave officers low ratings on the personal and professional characteristics scale, while students with the polar opposite characteristics gave high ratings.

Tables 17 and 18 illustrate an interesting relationship between Authoritarianism, Alienation, Officer ratings and the basic study variables. The factor previously identified as + AR Alienation is found to have as its opposite pole - AR Authoritarianism. This complex factor is significantly related to law officer ratings on both scales,

and constitutes the principal dimension along which officer ratings vary. Students with above average intellectual ability (AR and FI), but who are alienated and have anti-authoritarian attitudes, rated officers low on both scales. At the opposite extreme are students with below average ability, who are not alienated, and who have authoritarian attitudes. Students with this combination of characteristics gave officers high ratings on both scales. Further remarks on the negative relation between authoritarianism and alienation will be made later in this report.

Table 16. Factor Structure of Study Variables and Personal and Professional Characteristics Ratings; Alienation, Potency

Study Variables	Factors	
	I Conformity and Autonomy	II Peer Acculturation-Alienation
GPA (grades)	.75	-.45
MB (model behavior)	.65	-.54
FI (CTBS)	.84	.02
IB (misconduct)	-.46	.54
SA (social achievement)	.45	-.52
AR (abstract reasoning)	.60	.04
SC-P(self concept potency)	.37	-.53
Alienation	-.05	.76
Rating-Pers. & Prof. Char.	.04	-.62

Table 17. Factor Structure of Study Variables and Ratings of Personal and Professional Characteristics; Alienation, Authoritarianism, Potency

Study Variables	Factors	
	I Conformity and Autonomy	II +AR Alienation--AR Authoritarian
GPA (grades)	.85	-.08
MB (model behavior)	.69	-.25
FI (CTBS)	.76	.39
IB (misconduct)	-.64	.37
SA (social achievement)	.57	-.16
AR (abstract reasoning)	.62	.45
SC-P(self concept potency)	.54	-.35
Alienation	-.20	.56
Authoritarianism	-.25	-.45
Rating-Pers. & Prof. Char.	-.15	-.54

Table 18. Factor Structure of Study Variables and Officer Ratings - Impartiality; Alienation, Authoritarianism, Potency

Study Variables	Factors	
	I Conformity and Autonomy	II +AR Alienation- -AR Authoritarian
GPA (grades)	.85	.09
MB (model behavior)	.71	-.10
FI (CTBS)	.68	.48
IB (misconduct)	-.67	.23
SA (social achievement)	.59	.06
AR (abstract reasoning)	.52	.53
SC-P(self concept potency)	.50	-.39
Alienation	-.43	.56
Authoritarianism	-.12	-.46
Ratings-Impartiality	.37	-.56

AN ADJUSTMENT MODEL

As just described, various factor analyses of intercorrelations among the basic study variables led to the identification of four "adjustment modalities" which are significantly related to students' grades and to their ratings of law officers. Further clarification of these relationships was achieved by determining the relationship of primary modalities to each other. This was accomplished by the generation of second order factors.[1] The results of this analysis can be illustrated by the model which appears in Figure 13, page 44.

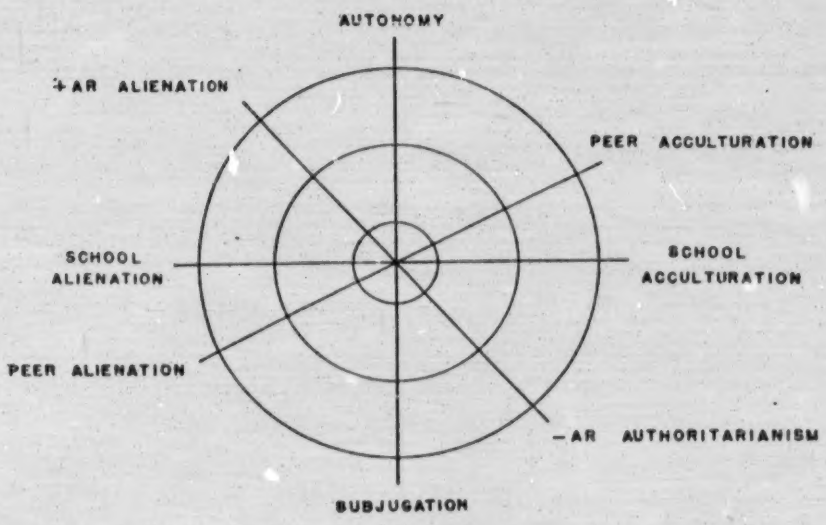
The model is mathematically descriptive of the relationship of the adjustment modalities to each other. The center of the circle represents the average score of the students in the study sample on each of the dimensions, and extension along any axis from the center represents increasing deviation from average. The angle between any two dimensions indicates the degree of relationship of the dimensions: a 90 degree angle signifies no correlation; angles less than 90 degrees a positive correlation; and angles more than 90 degrees a negative correlation. To illustrate, there is a zero correlation between Autonomy-Subjugation and School Acculturation-Alienation, but

1. Second order factors are identified by factor analysis of intercorrelations of scores derived from primary factors.

approximately a .80 correlation between Peer Acculturation-Alienation and School Acculturation-Alienation. With one exception, all dimensions are "simply" bipolar in that their two extremes represent exactly opposite characteristics. The exception is the AR Alienation-Authoritarian dimension which is also bipolar, but in a more complex sense. Two components of this dimension, Authoritarianism and Alienation are identified with opposite extremes of the continuum, alienation being associated with above average abstract reasoning ability and authoritarianism with below average ability. The other components are simply bipolar.

FIGURE 15

PRIMARY ADJUSTMENT MODEL



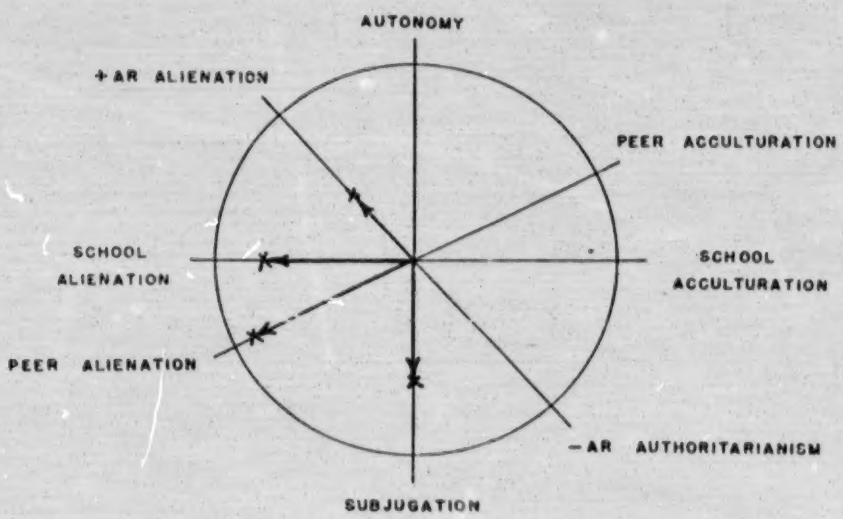
Each of the dimensions can be considered as a continuum along which students vary in the extent to which they manifest the characteristics which define the dimension. A student's dimension scores were determined by summing his scores on the principal components of the dimensions. Prior to summation, all component scores were transformed to equal unit scales (z score transformation), then differentially weighted in approximate accordance with their degree of correlation with each dimension. Dimension scores were adjusted to have average values of 100. These are common statistical procedures which do not distort the meaning or relationships of the original measurements.

Each student, therefor, was assigned four scores (one for each

dimension) which served to locate his position in the adjustment model. In the illustration below (Figure 13 A) the dimension scores of one student were plotted. This student shows an adjustment pattern characterized in order of significance by Peer Alienation, Subjugation, School Alienation, and + AR Alienation.

FIGURE 13 A

MAPPING OF ONE STUDENTS ADJUSTMENT DIMENSION SCORE



The relationship of students' adjustment scores to their grades, ratings of law officers, and socioeconomic class membership was then determined. Before presenting the results of this analysis, a brief description of each dimension and its principal components is made below.

School Acculturation-Alienation The components of this dimension are Model Behavior, Inappropriate Behavior*, Alienation*, Law and Order (social attitude) and Self Concept-Teacher. The extreme high (or positive) end of the continuum represents a strong degree of conformity to adjustment requirements implicit in the high school social environment and explicitly regulated by the school staff. The low end of the continuum represents an equally strong degree of non conformity and subsequent disciplinary action. In a general sense, those students with high scores have "acculturated" to adult controlled dimensions of the school society, while those with low scores are "alienated" from this same society.

* negatively associated

Autonomy-Subjugation The principal components are Abstract Reasoning Ability, Functional Information, Knowledge and Skill, and Self Concept-potency. Those students at the high end of this dimension are capable, well informed, and feel they have the personal qualities necessary for independent action. Students at the low end, however, have poor ability in clear thinking, have serious deficiencies in basic academic skills, and feel they lack the self assurance and capability needed for independence. The investigators gave the dimension its particular name because, in the context of the school social environment, students at the high end have the characteristics traditionally associated with autonomy and relative freedom, while students at the low end are "captives" in a situation which requires certain abilities which they do not possess, hence they are in fact subjugated.

Peer Acculturation-Alienation The principal components of this dimension are Social Achievement (in school sanctioned peer activities), Self Concept-Potency, Self Concept-Teacher, Model Behavior, and Law and Order. Students at the high end of the dimension identify with, and are successful in, the school-approved peer society. These students conform to the model of the adult-approved peer society. It is most probable that the "peer-acculturated" students have internalized the primary aspects of the school model, and manifest these in their peer society. Students at the low end of the continuum are alienated, non participants in the approved peer society. The special significance of this dimension is the implication that students who fail to conform to the sanctioned model of behavior are not only deprived of the usual rewards (grades), but are also denied the many social advantages offered by peer activities.

AR Alienation-Authoritarianism The principal components are Abstract Reasoning Ability, Alienation, and Authoritarianism, the last being negatively associated. Students on the high end of the continuum, while bright, have strong feelings of alienation and low feelings of personal capability or potency. They have very definite anti-authoritarian attitudes indicating a tolerant, non punitive attitude toward others and a rejection of the unquestionable rightness of authority figures. Students at the low end of the continuum think less clearly, have punitive attitudes toward "wrong doers", and respect rightfulness of authority figures, especially those who are strong and powerful. They do not feel alienated, and tend to have positive self regard.

The significance of this dimension is that it indicates that students of lower ability levels who attempt to acculturate to the school's model of appropriate behavior misinterpret what is required and as a result adopt an authoritarian mode of adjustment. Unfortunately, their respect for authority appears to be contingent upon authority figures who overtly manifest power for control and are quick to punish. Of further significance are non actualized abilities of the bright, alienated students who reject the association of power and right.

Relation of Adjustment Dimension Scores to Grade Point Average and Law Officer Ratings The students' dimension scores were grouped into five classes in accordance with their deviation from the average of each scale. For each dimension, the class labeled "1" consists of students with the highest scores, and the class labeled "5" of those with the lowest scores. Intermediate classes consist of students with scores between these two extremes. The relationship of dimension characteristics to grade point average and to law officer ratings can be seen in Table 19, page 48. The significance of the results of this analysis for grade point average is illustrated in Figure 14 which illustrates the relation of grades to the dimensions of the adjustment model.

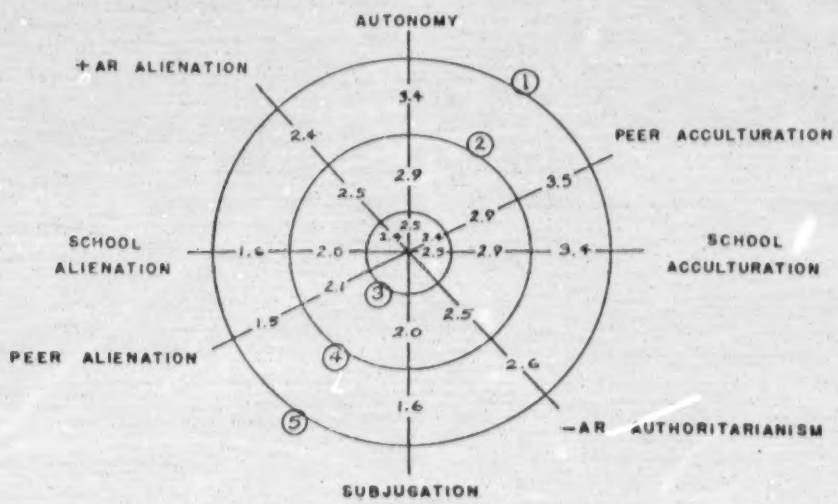


FIGURE 14

RELATION OF GRADE POINT AVERAGE TO ADJUSTMENT DIMENSIONS

Table 19. Relation of Adjustment Dimension Scores to GPA and Officer Ratings

School Acculturation-Alienation		Grade Point Average	Pers. and Prof. Char.	Impartiality	N
Acculturated	1	3.4	125	59	15
	2	2.9	118	61	33
Average	3	2.5	113	63	41
	4	2.0	93	64	33
Alienated	5	1.6	78	67	15
F value		21.5***	15.09***	1.34	137
Autonomy-Subjugation		Grade Point Average	Pers. and Prof. Char.	Impartiality	N
Autonomous	1	3.4	109	69	15
	2	2.9	106	67	33
Average	3	2.4	105	62	41
	4	2.1	110	60	33
Subjugated	5	1.6	110	58	15
F value		19.78***	.58	3.26*	137
Peer Acculturation-Alienation		Grade Point Average	Pers. and Prof. Char.	Impartiality	N
Peer Acc.	1	3.5	118	62	15
	2	2.9	116	63	33
Average	3	2.5	108	63	41
	4	2.1	102	62	33
Peer Al.	5	1.5	85	67	15
F value		20.93***	4.44**	.58	137
AR Alienation-Authoritarian		Grade Point Average	Pers. and Prof. Char.	Impartiality	N
AR Al.	1	2.4	77	72	15
	2	2.5	94	68	33
Average	3	2.4	111	61	41
	4	2.5	119	59	33
AR Auth.	5	2.6	123	55	15
F value		.15	14.50***	8.80***	137

Significance Levels

* sig. at .05
** sig. at .01
*** sig. at .001

The concentric circles superimposed over the axes of the adjustment dimensions represent the groups divisions (on dimension score scales) which appear in Table 19. The center circle represents the mid range of the scales, and extension along any axis results in increasing deviation from the scale means. As can be seen from the figure, the AR Alienation-Authoritarian axis seperates student grades into above average and below average (average grade for all students in the sample was 2.48). The upper right hand sector of the model is the region of the highest grades and the lower left hand sector is the region of the lowest grades. Thus various combinations of Autonomy, School Acculturation and Peer Acculturation are necessary for high grades, while various combinations of Subjugation, School Alienation, and Peer Alienation result in below average and failing grades.

The perceptive reader will have noted that the axis seperating above average from below average grades is "tilted" rather than horizontal. The latter position might be expected since the vertical dimension (Autonomy-Subjugation) is comprised of all measures reflecting intellectual capability, while the horizontal dimension (School Acculturation-Alienation) has no intellectual components. The practical meaning of the "tilted" axis is that conformity to the school's model of appropriate behavior is a more primary determinant of grades than is intellectual capability.

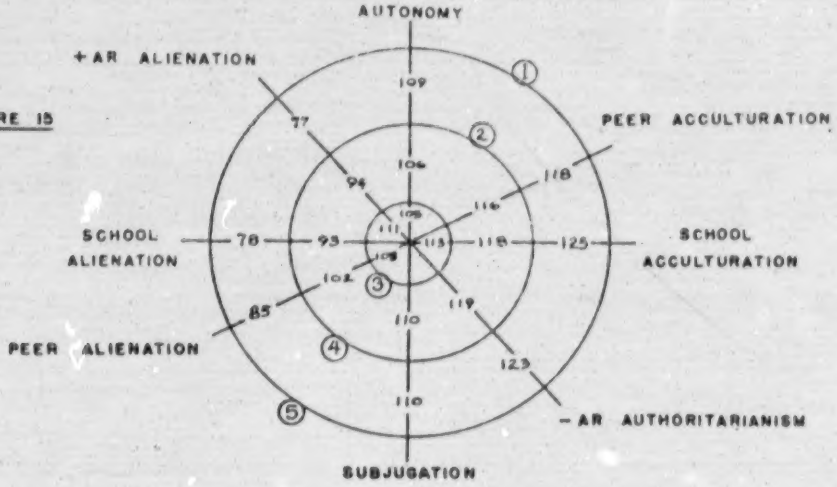
One other relationship is worth noting. Students with low abstract reasoning ability but with strong authoritarian attitudes (-AR Authoritarian) nevertheless make average grades and <u>do not</u> experience feelings of alienation. These facts suggest that the school's model of appropriate behavior against which students are implicitly evaluated has authoritarian components, which in part may explain why a number of bright and more humanistically oriented students (+ AR Alienated) <u>are</u> alienated and fail to adjust successfully to the school's model.

Figure 15 shows the relationship between the adjustment dimensions and ratings of Personal and Professional Characteristics of law officers. The principal axis along which ratings vary is School Acculturation-Alienation. Students with high acculturation scores gave officers very favorable ratings, while those with low scores gave negative ratings. The shaded region of the model bounded by the AR Alienation-Authoritarian and Peer Acculturation-Alienation is the source of systematic variation in ratings of personal and professional

characteristics. Students with various combinations of Peer Acculturation, School Acculturation and Authoritarianism gave positive ratings, while those with combinations of Peer Alienation, School Alienation and AR Alienation gave negative ratings.

RELATION OF RATINGS OF LAW OFFICER PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS TO ADJUSTMENT DIMENSIONS

FIGURE 15



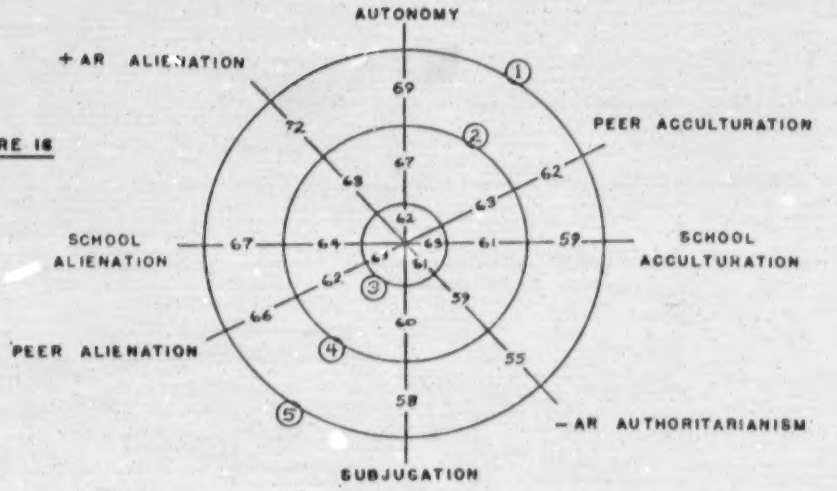


FIGURE 16

RELATION OF RATINGS OF LAW OFFICER IMPARTIALITY TO ADJUSTMENT DIMENSIONS

Figure 16 illustrates the relationships of adjustment dimensions to ratings of law officer Impartiality. The reader will recall that higher scores on the Impartiality scale mean that raters believe officers to be favorably biased toward persons in more prestigious

community positions and toward the majority ethnic groups. It will also be recalled that the majority of the students felt officers have such bias. The present analysis deals with variation within student ratings, and the midpoint of ratings of impartiality is therefor the average rating given by students, rather than the midpoint (equal treatment) of the original rating scale. The principal axis along which student ratings of officer Impartiality vary is AR Alienation-Authoritarianism. Students who are bright but alienated rated officers as being strongly biased in their treatment of people, while students below average in brightness with strong authoritarian attitudes regarded officers as being unbiased. The model space (shaded) containing the most systematic variation in impartiality ratings is bounded by the AR Alienation-Authoritarian and the Autonomy-Subjugation dimensions. Combinations of + AR Alienation and Autonomy lend to the perception of officer bias, while combinations of - AR Authoritarianism and Subjugation lend to the perception of equal treatment or impartiality.

It is clear from the adjustment model that the Autonomy- Subjugation axis separates the students in the study sample into two halves. On the right are those students who have acculturated in one way or another to the school society, while on the left are those who are alienated.

Both grades and law officer ratings are clearly related to students' degree of acculturation to the society of the high school. Those students most thoroughly acculturated to the school society are regarded very positively by their teachers and rewarded with good grades. They feel that their teachers like and value them, which is true. They are the "model youth" who win the awards and scholarships and are pointed to with pride. Thus the school acculturated youth lives in a benign social environment where recognition and reward are earned by conformity. Authority, in the form of teachers or law officers, is regarded by these students as benevolent and well intentioned (Personal and Professional Characteristics scale) toward persons like themselves.

On the other hand, "school alienated" youth are those who cannot or will not conform to the school's social model. Their non conformity results in negative consequences of low grades and numerous disciplinary reprisals. They undoubtedly experience their high school as a

hostile social environment where they are neither valued nor wanted by their teachers or by their acculturated-successful peers. Unfortunately, since high school attendance is a compulsory activity there is no way these youth can escape from what is in reality for them a non-accepting environment. As a consequence, they often act destructively against this environment. School alienated youth who are denied the rewards of positive recognition and good grades perceive authority, in the form of teachers and law officers, as neither benevolent nor well intentioned toward persons like themselves; and their perception is at least partially accurate.

Since conformity to the school's social model is so critical to acceptance and success, why do many students fail to conform? Although the answers to this important question must be tentative, certain insights have been obtained from the present study. The bases of non conformity may be classed in two categories: an unwillingness to conform and an inability to conform. Unwillingness to conform may derive from the attempts of students to achieve autonomy. Since autonomy is taken to mean independence of action and self regulation, manifestation of such behavior is often at variance with the school's social model which has as its essence compliance and acquiescence to the teachers' mandates. While most teachers stipulate that they want their students to be self regulating, it is apparent that it is meant that the student should conform without being told to do so, that is, the students should regulate themselves but in a manner congruent with the school's model of social behavior.

The school's model has identifiable authoritarian components and these may be antithetical to the value systems of some students thus reducing their willingness to conform. Such components concern the unquestionable "rightness" of teachers and their nearly total monopolization of power sanctions in the school society. Relative to teachers and other staff members, students have no legitimatized power of their own; and their only recourse is to conform to the requirements of those in power, or to disrupt, illegitimately, the process through which teachers manifest their power. The + AR Alienated students have the intellectual ability and academic competencies necessary to earn high grades, yet their rejection of the school's model nets them a mere C+ average. It is most probable that the substantial basis for rejection concerns the authoritarian components of the model, which

are not acceptable to these students. Their feelings of low personal potency (Self Concept-Potency scale) reflect their actual powerlessness in the school society, and their feelings of alienation (Alienation scale) reflect their perception of the disparity between their personal value systems and that of the school.

The second category of reasons for non conformity concerns the inability, rather than the unwillingness, to conform. By "inability" the investigators mean that circumstances not immediately controllable by the student reduce his capacity to conform. These circumstances are best described in socioeconomic and cultural terms. The school society is largely modeled after that of the middle income white culture. Students from such homes operate at a distinct advantage from the beginning to the end of their school years. Their clothing, grooming, speech, social manners, interests, values, and informational backgrounds are highly congruent with the requirements of the school system. Their more adequate financial resources enable them to afford the additional costs of participation in extracurricular activities and the achievement of status in the school's peer society. By and large, middle and upper income white students inadvertantly dominate and monopolize the school society. The powerful relationship between income level (and minority status) and adjustment is revealed in Table 20 which compares adjustment dimension scores to socioeconomic classifications of students. The highest income group (which in reality is "upper-middle" in national terms) clearly falls in the "success quadrant" of the adjustment model (see Figure 14, page 47). The low income white and the Native American Indian students just as clearly fall in the "failure quadrant".

Table 20. Relation of Socioeconomic Classification to Modality Scores

Income Level & Minority	School Acculturation-Alienation	Autonomy-Subjugation	Peer Acculturation-Alienation	+AR Alienation -AR Authoritarian
Hi 1	130	133	135	104
2	110	104	103	101
3	104	93	94	87
Lo 4	91	84	86	99
Minority	77	88	85	104
F value	9.46***	9.62***	8.20***	1.48

The discussion here is directed at two issues. First, the closer the subculture of the student's home is to that of the school, the easier it will be for him to acculturate to the school society and to achieve success in it. Since the student has no control over his cultural background, this seems a highly unfortunate circumstance for students who are not white and middle class. Secondly, teachers, without necessarily intending bias, perceive in a more favorable light students who manifest the observable characteristics of middle and upper income homes. This unintended and unconscious ethnocentrism is characteristic not only of teachers but also of students from favorable status homes. The significant outcome is that teachers are quicker to see "virtue" in the behavior of middle and upper income students, and to see "vice" in the behavior of lower income and minority students. Actions based on such perceptions spuriously increase rewards to favored students and decrease those to non favored students, resulting in further polarization of the school society. On one side are the teachers and the highly acculturated middle and upper income students, on the other are the low income white and minority students. All the good things in school, grades, awards, recognition, are concentrated on the former; while the bad things, referrals, disciplinary action, low grades, are concentrated on the latter. This polarization not only reduces rapport of low income white and minority students with their teachers, but also leads to tension and overt conflict between favored and non favored students. It is an unpleasant reality that the school society consists of those who "belong" and those who do not. Thus the feelings of alienation which are typical of lower income white and of minority students derive in large part from the middle class ethnocentrism of the school society, for in a true sense these students are made to feel as "aliens" in the school.

The School Acculturation-Alienation axis also separates the students in the study sample into two halves. In the top half are those students with above average ability (AR and FI) and in the bottom half are those with below average ability. The investigators have stated that students with below average ability are in a position of subjugation in their school society since they are compelled to operate in situations where their capabilities are not equal to the demands of the curriculum. Their chances of significant academic success (as measured by grades) are small, while their chances of failure are great. While the school system is ostensibly dedicated to

the proposition of optimally educating each student in accordance with his ability level, rewards are not disseminated on this basis. As presently organized, schools are highly competitive social settings where "A's" are usually counter balanced by "F's", "B's" by "D's", so that in a profound sense, for every "winner" there is a "looser". In a similar way, students are ranked in accordance with their achievement test scores which are always normatively interpreted. Thus for every student in the 90th percentile or above, there must be an equal number in the 10th percentile and below. For every student achieving at grade level plus two years, there must be one at grade level minus two years. This system of test score interpretation automatically segregates the school population into winners and loosers. The subjugated student is a consistent looser throughout his school years. Being continuously compelled to compete in a situation where success is highly important and failure is probable is a circumstance to which few humans can successfully adjust.

The reaction of the subjugated student appears to take one of three forms. First is apathy, withdrawal, and insulation from the aversive situation; the student simply gives up and ceases to respond, even by listening. Second is retaliation against the circumstances which create the chronic discomfort; the student is insolent toward his teachers, destructive of school property, and hostile toward his more successful peers. Such students are subjugated, alienated, non conformers and are generally regarded as a distinct threat to the smooth functioning of the school. The third reaction is the development of a pathological identification with the system which produces the torment. While this "pseudo acculturation" may appear incongruous to the reader, it is nevertheless a relatively common psychological phenomenon and has been reported by a number of social science researchers. Subjugated students who react in this manner have the strong authoritarian attitudes previously described and gave law officers high ratings on both scales. Compared with the + AR Alienated student, the subjugated authoritarian student has relatively positive feelings of personal potency (SC-P). This positive self image probably derives from the identification with what the student perceives as strong and forceful authority figures, rather than from his perception of his own capabilities.

Since none of the three types of reactions can be considered psychologically or socially adaptive, it is important to examine the

sources of the subjugation. The school grading system and the normative procedure of standardized test score interpretation described above are strong and unnecessary negative influences. The commonly held belief that unless students are graded they will not be motivated to learn is mostly erroneous. Grades are effective motivators only for those students who work hard and then receive a high evaluation from their teachers. However, for those who work hard then receive low grades, the system appreciably reduces motivation. By the time he reaches high school, the subjugated student has lost nearly all his drive to achieve, although this motivation can be revived by altering circumstances so that success can become possible. The best incentive for learning, however, is not grades but the individual's perception of his own growth and mastery - not in comparison to others, but in terms of what he can now do that he couldn't do before. Such growth can become knowable to the student (and his teachers and parents) through the use of individual, developmental growth records which could be continuously maintained throughout the student's school years.

While modification of the grading system would reduce feelings of subjugation, there are other complicating matters. The school curriculum is most congruent with the values, interests and experiences of the middle and upper income white child, and least congruent with those of low income white and minority students. The latter students are poorly prepared in background experience for the learning tasks at school, and they often fail to see the relevance of the school curriculum to their lives outside school. To date compensatory education programs have been primarily directed toward "adjusting" low income and minority children to models of middle income children, and have largely failed in this colossal undertaking. It has become increasingly apparent that the curriculum of the school must be modified to increase its compatibility with the varied cultural backgrounds of the children who attend. To the investigators, this alternative seems more intelligent and constructive than the current practice of diagnosing low income and minority children as "culturally disadvantaged" or "learning disabled", then "treating" them with remedial programs.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The school is a small society within the larger society of the community. Its students are the citizens and the school staff its

authority figures. Success within the school society depends primarily upon acculturation, which by and large means conformity to the school's implicit model of social behavior and personal conduct, and compliance to the will of the teachers. Those students who so conform are rewarded with good grades and other forms of social recognition. They have positive regard of authority figures, including law enforcement officers, and this regard is reciprocated. Students who fail to acculturate to the school society receive poor grades, disciplinary referrals, and often suspension, expulsion, or transfer to the continuation school. They are not highly regarded by their teachers, and their self ratings show that they are aware of this. Their own regard of authority figures, including law enforcement officers is considerably less than positive.

The school society consists of a set of processes which strongly favor middle and upper income white students, and which place lower income white and minority students at a distinct disadvantage. These processes virtually guarantee the success of the former students and the failure of the latter. The school alienation which typifies the lower income white and minority student is the consequence of powerful socio-cultural variables operant in the school society. The action of these variables over time produces strong feelings of social alienation in students from non favored social groups, just as they produce strong feelings of social identification in students from favored groups. The processes referred to derive from a middle class ethnocentrism which characterizes the school society. In a simple sense, this ethnocentrism means that the constellation of customs, values, purposes, goals, and standards derived from the white middle class culture are taken to be universally applicable to all persons; and that departure from these is regarded as a "problem" or "deficit" to be corrected. The actual cultural pluralism of our society has not been incorporated into the school system. Those students who are most "culturally different" from the white middle class model, in the present study the Native American students, suffer most and achieve least in the school system, followed closely by the low income white students. Inadvertantly, and without awareness, the ongoing processes of the school society almost automatically produce alienation, failure, and disrespect for social authority for some students, and identification, success and positive regard for authority for others. The investigators have no reason to doubt that these consequences are long

lasting in the lives of the students and that they carry over into the larger society. The polarized outcomes of our school system will be remedied only when this system becomes "culture fair" or culturally pluralistic.

The school society is not democratically organized. Virtually all power is vested in the teachers and other staff members, and the students have little or no voice in what happens to them. It is not an exaggeration to say that the student's role in the school social system is to do what he is told to do; in fact, his success depends on it. Thus the social organization of the school operates against the development of independence and autonomy. It also fails to provide training and experience for effective participation in a democratic society. Too often, that which is labeled "good citizenship" in the school society is actually compliance and deference to the wishes of those in positions of authority rather than intelligent and socially constructive action stemming from independent thought.

The student who strives for the achievement of autonomy does so against formidable opposing forces. He must not only contend with the insecurity consequent of his own lack of experience and self doubt, but he must "live" in a circumstance where conformity rather than independence is rewarded. His movements toward autonomy are often countered by loss of status in the school society and reduction in grade point average; and his rejection of the authoritarian components of the school social model cost him adult approval. The brighter student, in his struggle for autonomy, comes to understand what is happening and this very understanding leads to feelings of alienation from the system - of not belonging and perhaps not wanting to belong. The bright, alienated student has a negative regard of authority, and feels that authority figures neither like nor value him, probably because the actions of such persons are perceived as opposed to his emergence as an independent, self reliant person. The alienation of brighter students struggling for autonomy will end only if the society of the school is reorganized toward a truly democratic system.

The school society is a highly competitive social and economic system where the scarce commodity is grade point average rather than annual income, and where success in the sanctioned peer society is equivalent to high community status. The relationships described are more than mere analogies, for both grade point average and social achievement of the students almost exactly parallel the income level

and community status of their parents. Further, the social and academic failure of low income white and minority students insures the maintenance of their familial subjugation in the larger community. Their loss of self esteem and their inability to meet the entry requirements of advanced education institutions effectively bars them from economic and social advancement. The differences in school achievement levels of socioeconomic groups are not due to differences in ability to learn, but rather are the consequence of the interaction of the students' cultural backgrounds with the school system. Since the student cannot change his cultural background, it seems that the school must modify its curriculum to meet the needs of its clientele.